

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 114125 TOSEC 050013
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 H-02 EUR-12 /030 R

DRAFTED BY S/S:FGWISNER:JLH
APPROVED BY S/S - MR. WISNER
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 114125 TOSEC 050013

HELSINKI FOR GELB

E.O. 11652: N.A.

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: U.S. SENATE REPUBLICAN DECLARATION ON NATIONAL
SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE INTRODUCTION TO THE U.S. SENATE
REPUBLIC DECLARATION WHICH WAS MADE PUBLIC MAY 4. WE
WILL HOLD THE FULL REPORT FOR THE SECRETARY'S RETURN.
2. BEGIN TEXT: CONSISTENT WITH THE BIPARTISAN SPIRIT
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WAR II, THE MINORITY PARTY SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN NEEDLESS
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HAVING ACTED WITH RESTRAINT, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOT BE
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THE CURRENT STATE OF THAT POLICY AND WHAT IS SEEN AS A
MOUNTING THREAT TO AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY. TO DO LESS
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WOULD BE A DERELICTION OF DUTY.

IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARENA WE ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED BY
THE CHANGING TRENDS IN THE MILITARY BALANCE AND THE
GROWING SOVIET MILITARY THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES POSED
BY THESE UNFAVORABLE TRENDS.

RECENT NATIONAL SURVEYS SHOW A DEEPENING CONCERN BY THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE OVER SOVIET POWER AND BEHAVIOR AND
RISING SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE FUTURE ADEQUACY OF U.S.

DEFENSES TO DEAL WITH THIS GROWING THREAT. WE SHARE THIS CONCERN AND BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO SPEAK OUT.

THE MILITARY POSTURE OF THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE CONSIDERED IN THE ABSTRACT, BUT MUST BE VIEWED IN A GEO-STRATEGIC AND GEO-POLITICAL CONTEXT. WE DO NOT ARM FOR AMBITIOUS SELF AGGRANDIZEMENT. THAT THE U.S. HAS NO DESIRE TO EXTEND ITS SUZERAINITY TO OTHER PARTS OF THE GLOBE IS APPARENT TO THE INFORMED AND FAIRMINDED. CONFRONTED AS WE ARE, HOWEVER, BY A POWERFUL ADVERSARY WHOSE GOALS ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH OUR OWN AND WHO, JUDGED BY ITS ACTIONS, APPEARS BENT ON IMPOSING ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM ON THE WORLD, IT IS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN OUR DEFENSE PERIMETERS CONSONANT WITH OUR DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS REQUIRES A CREDIBLE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN AND CLOSE COOPERATION WITH FRIENDLY STATES IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. WE DO NOT INFLICT OUR PRESENCE ON THE UNWILLING, BUT MAINTAIN IT IN COUNTRIES WHO PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS MAKE SUCH ACCOMMODATIONS DESIRABLE TO THEM.

WE ARM, THEN, TO DETER AGGRESSION AGAINST OURSELVES AND OTHERS AND TO ENSURE OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY AND FREEDOM
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OF NORMAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY. WE ARM TO FOSTER A CLIMATE IN WHICH PEOPLES EVERYWHERE CAN ASPIRE TO SELF DETERMINATION AND HAVE SOME REASONABLE HOPE OF REALIZING THAT DREAM. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT IT BEHOOVES US TO CONSIDER SOVIET ACTIONS WITH INSIGHT AND OBJECTIVITY.

THERE HAVE BEEN SETBACKS IN SOVIET DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY POLICY. THEY FAILED IN GREECE, BERLIN AND IN THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS. THEY WERE THWARTED IN INDONESIA AND THROWN OUT OF EGYPT AND SOMALIA. THEY HAVE AN INEFFICIENT AGRICULTURE SYSTEM, GROWING CONSUMER DISSATISFACTION AND SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THEIR EUROPEAN ALLIES MAY BE UNRELIABLE AND THEY FACE A TROUBLESOME DISSIDENT MOVEMENT AT HOME. SOME ANALYSTS HAVE SPECULATED THAT SOME OR ALL OF THESE FACTORS MIGHT FORCE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO SLOW DOWN ITS AMBITIOUS FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS MILITARY BUILDUP. OTHERS HAVE MAINTAINED THAT ONCE THE SOVIETS REACHED NUCLEAR PARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES THE PACE OF THEIR ARMS BUILDUP WOULD SLACKEN.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOVIET SETBACKS AND PROBLEMS ARE NO CAUSE

FOR EUPHORIA BECAUSE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS NOT RESTRAINED BY FAILURE ABROAD OR SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AT HOME. THEY UNRELENTINGLY CONTINUE THEIR ARMS BUILDUP WHILE PROBING FOR NEW OPPORTUNITIES ABROAD. THIS SOVIET

CONDUCT WILL, OF COURSE, ENDANGER THE PROSPECT FOR WORLD PEACE AND THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS UNLESS STRONG RESOLVE IS EXHIBITED BY THE U.S. TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE. THE CURRENT LACK OF RESOLVE EXHIBITED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO BE THE MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE WORLD. DESPITE TALK OF DETENTE, WE BELIEVE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION INCORRECTLY UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERPRETS THE INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVE CONVENTIONAL MILITARY AND NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY TO SECURE WIDE-RANGING GEO-POLITICAL GOALS. STATEMENTS BY TOP ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS INDICATE THAT THEY BELIEVE THE SOVIETS MERELY SEEK STRATEGIC PARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THE SOVIETS REGARD THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR AS UNTHINKABLE.

WE BELIEVE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO UNDERSTAND ADEQUATELY AND COMMUNICATE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET THREAT. WE MUST AGREE WITH THOSE ANALYSTS WHO BELIEVE THAT:

--THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP STILL HOLDS POWER AND RESOLVE IN HIGH ESTEEM.

--THE SOVIETS MAY NOW BELIEVE THAT NUCLEAR WAR IN SOME FORM IS NOT UNTHINKABLE AND HAVE NEVER RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF WINNING A NUCLEAR CONFLICT.

--MILITARY SUPERIORITY, NOT EQUALITY, IS THE GOAL OF SOVIET PLANNING.

ONE SCHOLAR OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS RECENTLY WROTE THAT:

(SOVIET DOCTRINE) SPELLS THE REJECTION OF THE WHOLE BASIS ON WHICH THE U.S. STRATEGY HAS COME TO REST: THERMONUCLEAR WAR IS NOT SUICIDAL, IT CAN BE FOUGHT AND WON, AND THUS RESORT TO WAR MUST NOT BE RULED OUT...

THE STRATEGIC DOCTRINE ADOPTED BY THE USSR OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES CALLS FOR A POLICY DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE TO THAT ADOPTED IN THE UNITED STATES BY THE PREDOMINANT UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMUNITY OF CIVILIAN STRATEGISTS: NOT DETERRENCE BUT VICTORY, NOT SUFFICIENCY IN WEAPONS BUT SUPERIORITY, NOT RETALIATION BUT OFFENSIVE ACTION.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO VIEW SOVIET INTENTIONS AS IT WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM. HOWEVER, DECISIONS AFFECTING THE SECURITY OF THE FREE WORLD CANNOT BE BASED ON WISHFUL THINKING, BUT MUST BE INFLUENCED BY THE HARD REALITIES OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR.

AS SOVIET MILITARY POWER CONTINUES ITS UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH, AMERICA'S MILITARY STRENGTH IS BEING DEGRADED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECISIONS TO UNILATERALLY CANCEL MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS WITHOUT SEEKING RECIPROCATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER TOOK OFFICE MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, THE UNITED STATES WAS RESPECTED AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WERE STABLE AND WE WERE CLOSE TO AN EQUITABLE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT.

OUR NATO AND FAR EASTERN ALLIES LOOKED UPON US AS A RELIABLE PARTNER AND OUR MILITARY ARSENAL WAS BEING STRENGTHENED TO MEET GROWING GLOBAL CHALLENGES. IN THE MIDDLE EAST OUR STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY HAD WON THE RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE OF BOTH THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS AND SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THAT ANCIENT DISPUTE.

IN 15 SHORT MONTHS OF INCOHERENCE, INCONSISTENCY AND INEPTITUDE, OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY OBJECTIVES ARE CONFUSED AND WE ARE BEING CHALLENGED AROUND THE GLOBE BY SOVIET ARROGANCE.
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THE POLICY OF HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY IS IN THE BEST AMERICAN TRADITION; BUT PRAGMATISM IN OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IS THE KEYSTONE OF AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY. THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO HANDLE THE SITUATION WITH ADEQUATE SENSITIVITY AND SKILL.

IN AFRICA, MOSCOW POURED ONE BILLION DOLLARS IN ARMS INTO ETHIOPIA AND SOVIET OFFICERS DIRECTED THE COMBAT OPERATIONS OF MORE THAN 17,000 CUBAN TROOPS AGAINST SOMALIA. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FECKLESS HANDLING OF THE ETHIOPIAN-SOMALIA CONFLICT OPENED THE WAY FOR THE SOVIETS TO CARRY OUT THEIR NAKED GEO-POLITICAL POWER PLAY. THIS IMPOSING SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, COUPLED WITH THEIR PRESENCE IN IRAQ, CREATES A Pincer MOVEMENT AROUND OUR VITAL SOURCES OF MIDDLE EAST OIL AND

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PAGE 01 STATE 114125
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 /028 R

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DRAFTED BY:EUR/SOV:SMCCALL
APPROVED BY:EUR/SOV:SMCCALL
S/S:JETHYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS STATE 114125

FOL STATE 114125 TOSEC 050013 SENT ACTION SECRETARY INFO
HELSINKI MAY 4, 1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 04 may 1978
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Disposition History: n/a
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Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780191-0370
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805112/baaaeyor.tel
Line Count: 524
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7c773895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 mar 2005
Review Event:
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Review Media Identifier:
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Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2539543
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S. SENATE REPUBLICAN DECLARATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY
TAGS: OVIP, PGOV, PINT, PEPR, PARM, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: SECRETARY INFO HELSINKI
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7c773895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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